1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE XXVI

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1. Fire-sticks [⅛]. 2. Tweezers [⅛]. 3. Masai stool [⅛].
4. Honey pot [⅛]. 5. Leather bag [⅛].

[Facing P. 342]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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824 [302] ñganaiyok atwa 'ila naselare neelye 'seseni.

8. Ol-oireroi. Ninye epej il-muran, nedoñg 'n-guk enyena, nesirie 'l-loñgoi, nerooku.

[386]

9. Ol-dule. Ninye ejipye 'ñgorōyok oo 'n-doiye 'm-benek i-seghenge.

[751]

10. Ol-bili. Ninye eitobirieki 'l-ūluli e-'n-aisho.

[415] [251]

used by the Masai to mix with oil, with which they anoint their bodies.

8. *Maerua uniflora*, Vahl. The warriors burn this plant and obtain a black dye from the ashes, with which they colour their shields.

9. Women and girls place the leaves of *Ricinus communis*, L., under their iron armlets and anklets to prevent them from chafing the skin.

10. *Commiphora sp.* Honey barrels are made of the wood of this tree.

'L-omon le-'n-gima.

How fire is obtained.

● 372 * [484] Ten eidur il-Maasae pe epwo en-nelakwa, ore pe ebaya e-wēji nemany, ne'yau araki nedoñgu ol-piron o en-doole, neiñgoru 'l-mur asho 'l-kujit eotōito, neipiru en-gima te-poloe-boo oo metadōu, neinok, nepik im-benek o-'seki, nepik il-kāk kumok, nepwōnu 'ñgorōyok pōkin aaya en-gima te-inne.

When the Masai move and go far', the men take with them, or cut on the spot where they intend to stay, a hard pointed stick and a flat piece of wood. They then search for some donkey's dung or dry grass, and produce fire in the centre of the new kraal by drilling the stick into a hole in the wood. When the fire has reached the grass they set light to some leaves of *Cordia ovalis* and throw wood on to the fire. The women obtain their fire from the one which the men have made.

[831] Nējo'l-Maasae ol-piron ol-lee o en-doole e-ñgorōyōni enye.

The Masai say that the hard stick is a man and the flat piece of wood his wife.

[824] Ore 'l-kāk eoitaunyeki ol-piron ol-ñgalōli o ol-piron le-'n-gima; ore 'l-kāk eoitaunyeki en-doole 'l-kāk pōkin eoata 'ng-opit, anaa ol-darpoi, arai o-seki, arai ol-lerai.

The hard sticks are cut from *Ficus sycomorus* and *Rhoicryia sp.*; the flat pieces of wood from any fibrous tree, such as *Kigelia africana*, *Cordia ovalis*, or *Acacia albida*.

[1] When the journey is a short one the women carry fire with them.

If however there is to be no left-hand circumcision the *Il piron* elders arrange to hold the fire-drilling ceremony. 561

This ceremony finally binds together the *Il piron* elders and their morran charges. The warriors and the *Il piron* elders decide on the suitable site for the first warrior village. The warriors, together with their mothers, sisters and cattle move in close to the site chosen and for the time being occupy any deserted village in the vicinity. When the warriors announce that they are in readiness, the elders give orders that on the morrow all the cattle are to move to a new village. Next morning at sunrise, the *Il piron* tell the warriors to bring the heifers, four cows, four calves (all black). The heifers must have perfect eyes, straight tails, each must have four teats, in fact they must be perfect in every way. The warriors must find also a young bull, either a black one, or a fawn one; it must be perfect in eye, have erect horns, and its dam must still be alive.

The warriors are warned that after the ceremony, the bull must not be castrated, or sold, or slaughtered for food.

The nine cattle having been selected, eight morran are called for, and eight girls. The warriors must have unblemished eyes, must not have killed a Masai, or have committed any serious offence against tribal laws; also they must not all be right-handed. [328]

The girls, too, must be free from blemish and must not have reached the age of puberty. The warriors don a short coat of black calf skin, make a circle of white round the eyes, down each cheek meeting under the chin, and each carries a bow in his hand. The warriors and girls then drive the cattle to the centre of the chosen site and prevent them from running away. The rest of the warriors watch this proceeding until as soon as the ceremonial bull and the heifer have taken up their positions; the remainder are driven forward to the waiting group. The warriors then seize the ceremonial bull by the horns and twist its head so that the right side of its face is uppermost. A piece of hide which must have been cut from the back of an ox which when slaughtered was found to be in perfect health, is then placed on the bull's upturned face. The *Il piron* elders who performed the first ceremony were dressed in robes made from sheep skins. New fire-sticks are then produced, placed on the bull's cheek and fire made by drilling, by the *Il piron* elders. [392] [302] [372]

The smouldering charred wood falls on the hide, pieces of frayed cedar bark are added, and the glowing ember is blown into a flame, when a fire will start with dry clean wood. The fire is then placed on the ground in the centre of the village; the place is given the name osinyo. Large pieces of wood are added. One elder is then left to look after the fire whilst the others walk in a circle round the assembled

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Milking.—Milking is usually done by women and girls, but uninitiated boys may also milk. Milk is either drunk fresh or is curdled by mixing with blood, or is curdled alone by leaving for two or three days.

Raiding.—Frequent raids on neighbouring tribes are carried out by the warrior classes, and the cattle and sheep so obtained are some of them distributed to a warrior's parents and friends and some kept for himself. When cattle are raided from another clan or sub-clan in order to repay a murder (*see* Murder), all maimed, blind, and otherwise damaged cattle are returned immediately afterwards, for to keep these would certainly bring bad luck on the raiders.

PART X.—MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

Fire.—Fire for special occasions is made by means of the hand-drill method, and women may not make fire by this means. Normally, fire is obtained from the ashes of the previous day's fire or from a few live coals borrowed from a neighbouring hut. The first fire in all new huts must be made with fire-sticks.

Murder.—Should a man kill a member of his own sub-clan there is no punishment. "What would be the use of taking a fine from one's own sub-clan?" If, however, a man of another sub-clan is killed, then the sub-clan of the murdered man raid the murderer's sub-clan and try to seize cattle in compensation. Usually a free fight takes place and if, in the course of this, a man of the murderer's sub-clan is killed, the matter is considered all square, and any raided cattle are returned. In the course of such a raid all sorts of cattle are driven off, but all the blind and maimed ones are returned next morning (*see* Raiding, above).

Smiths.—Among the Masai smiths are considered "bad." There are smiths in each clan, and the business is purely a family one handed down from father to son. Young boys of smiths' families are initiated alone, and once initiated go straight to the business of smithing and may take no part in the life of the ordinary novices or warriors. Smiths are considered to be considerably lower in the social scale than even the Wandorobo. A Dorobo can leave his hunting life and rank as a true Masai if he so chooses, but never a smith.

If a smith comes and sleeps at a village he is given a bed, but must sleep on the wrong side of the sleeping hide (*i.e.* the rough flesky side). Smiths may only marry with smiths' families. No Masai would dream of marrying or having any kind of sexual intercourse with a smith's daughter (Wandorobo girls may be married by Masai, but not *vice versa*), nor can a smith marry an ordinary Masai girl. Smiths make spears and small knives, cattle bells and iron ornaments, but never swords, which are always bought from the Kikuyu. Should a Masai buy the cattle or sheep of a smith he must dip them in the river before adding them to his flock.

/39 cont./

412 goat or sheep. Other shapes consist of such a piece of a thin tree
[237] trunk, which bears on its lower end a wreath of branches, or also
of a wooden handle on whose lower end, in slits placed crosswise,
[326] sit two short cross-sticks. The blacksmiths make ax and knife.
• 372 A little board (en dauale) /40/ of soft wood and a twirling stick
[824] (ol biron, el birondo) of hard wood (1)

1. Especially from the ol naiboli (Ficus Sycomorus) and ol dessegon (Pluchea Dioscoridis).

serve as fire-lighter (Fig. 16). To make fire, one holds the little board firmly on the ground with both hands, while another kneels before it and, twirling on it with the stick, produces the necessary
[237] friction. After approximately half a minute, when the fine shavings rubbed off the board smoke, one shoves on some dried cattle-dung. As soon as this starts to glow, one puts brush on it. Once the fire is burning in one of the huts, the people come here from the others, a stick of firewood in hand, in order to fetch fire for themselves.
415 With the household equipment also belong the large leather pouches
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Fig. 16. (1/2).

Fig. 17.

415 (Fig. 16 /sic: see Fig. 17/) (ol benne, el bennia), which in
482 former times were loaded only on donkeys, but now are also carried by the women on their backs, just like the leather bags (e mogage, mogagenl), when they set out to buy vegetables.

881 /83 cont./
[304] words and blows by the assembled warriors, because they did not
866 rear their son to have the hardening and self-control necessary for
626 a warrior, while the weakling is reviled for a long time afterwards
as ebíryo = coward, or tóróno = the bad one. After the circumcision
all the men of the neighborhood gather in the kraal, where they are
• [372] regaled with meat and honey beer by the fathers of the ones just
circumcised, after the latter have kindled a fire with juniper twigs
(Juniperus procera). The festival is called ol ogór l el aijok amerite,
[252] that is, the festival of the circumcised boys. Unbelievable amounts (1)
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1. I once observed that my four Masai boys together at an evening meal ate over 80 pounds of lean meat.

of raw or half-cooked meat slightly roasted at the open fire are consumed in the shortest time by the married men and women, whereas the warriors neither eat meat nor drink honey beer, but only take
[522] some fresh milk. People joke and laugh and everyone seems to
[521] want to outshout the others. The warriors boast of alleged heroic deeds in former wars and discuss the prospects of the ones circumcised that day on their first military expedition, which will perhaps take them to this or that region, where they themselves had made an attack only a short time before. The fathers dream of their sons' future heroic deeds and are happy at the thought of the rich booty with which
881 the budding warriors will augment the paternal herds. Suddenly the
626 glances of a few who had just been joking darken and turn toward
157 a distant hut at whose door a solitary old man is sitting. They jump up and go toward him with quick steps. The angry expression on their faces matches their rough and abruptly uttered invectives and threats, in which one hears the reproaches that the old man has brought up his son to be a weak coward, who during the circumcision betrayed his pain by a twitching of facial muscles and a half-suppressed groan, which they, however, jeeringly compare to the roar of pain of a bull being cut. The old man has quickly fled from their imprecations into his hut, and his attackers vent their wrath on two gourd bottles of honey beer left standing, which they knock over and

/208 cont./

782 bestrew the individuals with the blades of a fodder grass prized for cattle, and say the prayer. This runs: 'Ng ai pasinai, nja ijŏk ń gischu, jo ijok ń gischu kumok, ninĕgua ijŏk ĕlolonga = may God give us cattle, give us many cattle, keep us healthy. While driving the captured livestock together, they sing a song of praise, which begins with the words: Hai narok, oho, Hai kindera ije oh = black God, oho, we hurry near, oh!

In sickness, both the patient and his relatives pray for health for him. In serious cases of illness a black ram or a black ox is slaughtered, and part of its blood is poured on the floor as an offering to God. If the sick person is an old man or an old woman with numerous descendants, one slaughters a likewise black, gravid cow, whose calf is left lying outside the kraal for God, after the place has been sprinkled round about with the amniotic fluid.

796 782 Both in order to honor God and at the same time to supplicate him for something, the Masai celebrate feasts at approximately monthly intervals; these usually take place on moonlit evenings, more rarely they start in the morning or early afternoon.

One of the most frequent supplication feasts (ol ogŏr = the supplication feast) is the ol ogor l ol geretti, which during some periods and in some regions is celebrated almost every month, in others at considerably greater intervals, by the married men and the boys together, in order to supplicate God for the preservation of the health of human beings and livestock. In the kraal a large fire is kindled [372] [824] with dry wood (from the ol oirien tree), upon which green wood with leaves (from the os segi tree) (1)

1. Cordia quarensis Gürke.

is tossed, so that a strong development of smoke comes about. A [824] powder made from the wood and bark of the ol mogoŋgora liana, which smells like incense, is sprinkled in the fire. The thick column of smoke climbs toward the sky and takes the fragrance to God. Now one leads up a large black ram, washes it carefully [824] with honey beer, and sprinkles it with the powder of the e matanguju tree. Then it is suffocated, drawn, and cut up. /209/ Each of the

ticks, tsetse fly, and disease.

233 372 152 Burning grassland appears to be a deeply ingrained cultural trait. Young herdboys will seek out and ignite small patches of unburned grass, sometimes only one or two feet across. We have watched Masai moran striding across a dry plain lighting matches as they went, leaving a long line of small blazes gradually joining together behind them. We have watched junior and senior elders lighting fires, as well as boys and moran. We had marked plots that were burned as much as four times in one year. So we would add to the above explicit reasons for burning, the implied reason that they also burn simply because they get some satisfaction out of it.

182 372 [171] Fires are lit with matches. Possibly some are started from cooking fires that get away. Some fires, especially in wooded areas, are started by Wanderobo honey hunters (see below). But virtually all the fires whose origins we investigated were lit by Masai.

177 372 182 It seems probable that the coming of Europeans has altered the fire regime by providing large supplies of matches. It is far easier to light fires with matches than by using flint or other primitive means. With fires

easier to light more fires are lit, just as in the case of hunting tribes who have received firearms; with game easier to kill, more game is killed. Control in these matters appears to be enforced by availability of tools and difficulty of accomplishment, not by any conservation ethic.

We questioned Masai, other Africans, and Europeans about lightning fires and never found the slightest evidence of lightning causing fires in the savanna country. There is no doubt that it ignites some fires in [illegible] rim-rock or mountain areas, but we never even saw a lightning-struck tree in the study area. All the lightning we observed in storms was high, it occurred in heavy rain storms, or it was low in the region of Lake Victoria.

There does not seem to be any discipline or organization to the burning by the Masai. Fires are started in dry grass when herds leave an area, but they are also lit when herds arrive in an area, if the grass is dry enough. They are even lit in pauses during rain storms.

The forest country on the hills is also burned at